The previous discussion took place in the evening in the house of the Kepala kampong [of Balombaru--Analyst]. As we talked about various subjects I found that whenever I spoke about the United States I got a good reaction. The village head, a spirited individual, said that he wanted to go there. I said that in a few years perhaps he could. I found out later that one reason the Kepala kampong appeared to be so clever is that he once was a sailor and traveled a good deal. One source said that this was not true but that he had merely been a customs official. In any event he does act like a very special person. 521 156 842 829 ●

I said that there were few children per family in the United States because of the long period of education and the great expense involved. They said that in Makassar everyone wanted lots of children. However, they volunteered nothing regarding education. Then the village head said jokingly that he was going to the United States to help the population problem there. He said that if he got there he would make lots of children! That is the spirit I notice here. The men are very jocular. They like good and rough conversation. In their talk they are quite direct. There is little refinement, halus, such as there is in Java. Nevertheless, they are remarkably polite. All goes very nicely. And there never seems to be an embarrassing or false step.

Later in the evening, I sat with a Dutchman. An acquaintance of his was drunk. He said that he was not interested in the United States when I talked about it. He was very rough indeed, and the other Dutchman was ashamed. Maybe it was a matter of the alcohol involved. 000

These folk are amazingly attractive. Maybe they are not so when just amongst themselves, and perhaps their appearance now is because of the presence of a visitor. I would like to know what goes on from day to day, and if they are on their best behavior now. 609 123

I talked Malay with them and this went over quite well. I told them about the United States and about Yale and about the shrinking world. Perhaps they are just polite, but they seemed interested. One thing went over especially well. I said that there was no pangkat [rank, class] in the United States. I gave the case of President Truman. His father was a tani [farmer] and he had no special rank. Nevertheless he worked himself up. But the thing which hit the Kepala kampong the hardest, and that which he told most eloquently to the people, was that every four years a man like Truman must stand up before the country for election. And if he is not

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

● 829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so

C 647 563 152 829 the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that, to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often ask me why the United States does not help. For example, Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless they could see certain profit. For example, who here could buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well. Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want to know the price of. This is especially true of the old Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything, asking the price of each object. He commented that everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M 565 759 ● 829 773 To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is 100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are 35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone. He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods, and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

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The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land." I 181

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier. M 175 838 212

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer. C 181

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere. M 421 651

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea. M 173 443 366

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that M 565 582 114 829

[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friederic). This
565 fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to
582 another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded.
●829 But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the
567 Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I des-
427 cribed the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in
124 the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs. 203

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism. 829 ● 186

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is." 177 535 609

Flores: The following information was obtained from the Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant 000

167 563 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja wanted workers, he told the kepala kampong and he in turn ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 574 203 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 828 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away. Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are always brave.

365 206 207 As for communication there have been a few changes. This is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as far as the Kepala kampong's house. (Not very far). The

205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-

203 204 178 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the Information Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the common folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Ministry. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a new development as far as news was concerned.

443 504 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the coast there are plenty of boats.

203 186 829 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

the others did not. They said that relatively few, except school children (they are always mentioned as exceptions) could draw a map of Celebes, Indonesia, and the world. But some of them have seen maps in the schools. 203 186 829

As for the population of Indonesia, the Kepala kampong could tell me nothing, but Andi and the teacher knew something about this. This was also true with most of the others, except for a few school children; that is, they do not know even approximate figures for Indonesia at large. As for the population of the world no one had any ideas. However, Andi knew that China was largest, and India next largest. They were impressed that Indonesia is the seventh largest country in population in the world. Later I found out that the Sulewatang has quite an extensive knowledge of international relations and of the world. And Andi knew the capitols of Ireland, Finland and other countries. As for local patriotism, Andi said there was no real pride in Bone. They are not sombong [arrogant, conceited, presumptuous], but have hormat [honor, respect, distinction]. And adat is everything. I asked about the big speeches of loyalty formerly made by chiefs going to war. I also asked, in this connection, about the jumping and kris waving. Andi said that this was just adat. He keeps on saying that there is nothing here except adat and that the people are backward. He seems disgusted at times. He said they simply do not progress, and seems to doubt that they ever will. As for relations with other villages and neighborhoods or areas, there is exceedingly little. Formerly something along this line could be said about friendly or warlike relationships with Wadjo, Goa, and so forth. Nothing, however, is left of this. As for war, they can not carry on their former practices because the Dutch took their weapons. 186 181 578 721

Bukaka, September 8, 1949. Second day: The people here know very little even about local historical events. This reminds me of Abdul Radjab, the Minangkabau, who is gathering local tales in Makale for Balai Pustaka. He was here once and said that he thought that he could get plenty of material in Wadjo, but after long talks with the important people who said it would be all right, he did not succeed in getting even one story. In the Toradja country, he got plenty, and even in Paloppo (but it is a part of Toradja). It is his idea, that the Buginese are helpless and hopeless. He said that a psychologist should study them. They are so bound up with fear and backwardness that there seems to be nothing here. He later took a bus for Tanette but it stopped at Balannipa which is twenty-five kilometers short. The driver said "all out", even though he and the others objected. However, the driver 157 114

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets

Makassar 066

829 As for the ideas of the horizon of political life,
208 he said that outwardly there had
been no change, and that the horizon is actually non-existent.
521 However, he suspects that much more goes on beneath the surface. He said that every man, even the lowers, knows about the Java troubles. But one never hears a word about this in public. As for outside places, they know a lot about the United States and Russia, that is, they know about the troubles involved. They know the communists have China. And they know that India is free. They know about the Pakistan-Hindustan trouble. They know a little bit about Burma. And they know that MacArthur wants to use Japan against Russia. They know the Philippines are free. They know Germany wants to fight against Russia. All of this is known in varying degrees, but in general much news goes on under cover. Most knowledge, however, centers around the United States, Russia, and China. A poor last is India.

As for colonialism, Andi said this is another jail matter. People just keep their mouths shut. But he knows, and thinks other people know, that the radjas and the Dutch are working together. I made a speech on this and he agreed. I can see that he knows quite a bit, and is probably very Republican in sympathy, which means that he and his fellows must talk quite a bit on the side.

661 As for ideas about Holland and the like, that is also taboo.
829 As for any knowledge of other countries' politics, as above it
521 centers mostly around the United States, Russia, China, and then last India. Some knowledge is shown concerning Germany
203 and Japan, and other Southeast Asian countries. They obtain this knowledge via movies; little information reaches them indirectly from radio sources (i.e., one hears a broadcast and relates the news to others), for example, from the Voice of America or the Republican radio. Some news also travels by rumor and from papers or from people who read papers. Political subjects are seldom or never discussed in public. Such discussions may go in the homes and in secret, but only in intimate circles and even then the people are quite wary. I asked the Controleur about this and he said there were two viewpoints: First, that in 1946 there was a great deal of political trouble here involving extremists, and many were killed. Thus politics seems dangerous and must be suppressed or else it will lead to trouble. The other, to which he and the Assistant Resident incline, is that if they suppress discussion of these matters to a certain degree here there will certainly be an explosion someday. He thinks it would be better if the nobles would get on a more political basis or on the political
665 bandwagon and into political parties. He said that Bone is the
668 only state in South Celebes which has no parties. This seems

562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stopped; this I think was because he was about to say something about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other things the system changed. Friedericy includes some information on the seventeenth century radja here who would no longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matrilocal custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin. It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble. Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on this matter. As for the relations between such families, they are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They emphasized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate. One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese this

789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier, and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some)marriage between higher women and lower men. To compensate for this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Tomarilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something between the states. There are frequent marriages in the noble class between the states, and thus it is something like the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana'radjeng (with much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly, but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

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They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829 ●

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

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As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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